

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. II. No. 3.

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50c. a Year.

Industrial Unionism and Politics

Address Delivered Before the Socialist Labor Party, at McMahon's Hall, New York City, March 2, 1908

By B. H. WILLIAMS

Comrades and Fellow Workers—In speaking tonight under the auspices of the Socialist Labor party I shall assume that I am addressing men and women who have been connected for some years with the labor movement in America. Many of those present here have been in that movement either as students or as active workers, or as both, much longer than I have. While I was reading "The People" and studying the literature of the middle west, many of you were wrestling with the practical problems of the movement here in New York. Nevertheless, I shall presume to address you tonight upon certain aspects of the labor movement which I find are more or less grasped by many S. L. P. men.

I remember in 1898, when I first became a regular reader of "The People," it was some months before I at all grasped the significance of what at first seemed to me a dual organization dividing the energies of the Socialist movement, viz., the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. But before the split of 1900 in the S. L. P. I perceived the necessity of the economic organization; and though due to my surroundings, perhaps, I sometimes had doubts, the conviction never left me, and became stronger from the moment I became an active worker in the movement.

Again, when the I. W. W. was formed and about the same time I went on the road as an organizer for the S. L. P., I right away perceived that the emphasis in our agitation should be placed in a different direction than formerly. I saw that the rank and file of the workers who appeared at our street and hall meetings did not seem to be greatly interested in our presentation of the "difference" between the two Socialist parties in the usual way, which with most S. L. P. speakers, besides including a critique of the wider world, consisted of a recitation of specific acts of political compromise by the Socialist party, beginning usually with Carey, the "armory builder," and the quadruple candidacy of Morris Eichmann, of West Hoboken, N. J. In other words, to be plain, I concluded the workers wanted to know how they might become united to overthrow the capitalist system. Hence the line of agitation I adopted was to emphasize the constructive program of the I. W. W., to contrast the form of industrial unionism with that of the craft unionism, and as much as possible draw the workers' attention away from the pure and simple political notion of merely voting (as they thought) for the Co-operative Commonwealth. And as I proceeded along this line and gained more experience and a wider outlook, I saw that just in proportion as we kept I. W. W. agitation free from the entanglements of the latter fights between the two Socialist parties, we gathered strictly to the non-affiliation clause in the preamble, just in that proportion did we gain a hearing and response from the workers.

But the wisdom of the non-affiliation clause dawned upon me to a fuller extent. While in northern California two years ago my attention was called to an incident connected with a lecture by a Socialist party speaker named Lewis. In referring to the political shadow of the labor movement, Lewis asked the question of his audience, "If that is so, then I want to ask, is the Socialist party the political shadow of the I. W. W.?" The response from the S. L. P. men present was a thundering unanimous "No." "Well," said Lewis, "is the Socialist Labor party the political shadow of the I. W. W.?" The S. L. P. men inadvertently answered "Yes." "How can that be?" asked the speaker. "How can a body cast a shadow before the body itself exists?" The answer never came. A comrade who reported the incident to me said the S. L. P. men were tricked, and he added that the answer should have been, "No, the S. L. P. is not the political shadow of the I. W. W., but we hope it may become so some day." And so many of us thought, and we repeated the phrase, "The political must justify itself to the economic," while really we were trying to mold the economic to the political—to cast the I. W. W. in the mold of the S. L. P. That practice still obtains to a great extent among S. L. P. men. They still couple the I. W. W. and the S. L. P. together in their propaganda. They still try the delusion to their breasts that the S. L. P. may some time be recognized by the I. W. W. as the latter's political reflex. But the hope, I say, is vain, and for this reason: "Only the trade union can set on foot the political party of the working class."

This declaration of Marx' I shall modify to read:

"Only the economic organization of the working class can set on foot the true political reflex of working class interests."

I hope you will bear in mind the modification as it will appear important before I get through with my argument. Let us first of all take a rapid glance at the structure of that working class economic organization that is to reflect the true political movement of labor. The structure of the industrial union conforms closely to the organized form of modern capitalist industry. Modern capitalist industry is more and more grouping the workers into co-operative entities on the basis of industries, in which the old-time crafts, besides having been modified by the introduction and perfection of machinery, have at the same time become parts of a greater whole—links in the chain of single industries, which in turn have become larger links in the chain that binds together the entire industrial system. An illustration will help to make my meaning clear.

Take the trade of carpenter for example. Formerly a carpenter was an all-around builder who could complete a wooden structure from the foundation in the chimney, inside and outside. Today on a modern building the carpenter is a specialist. He has become a framer, a floor maker, a finisher, or something else. Besides his own specialized, the carpenter's trade has also ceased to be independent, and has become merely a link in the chain of other trades that bind together all the various workers in the building industry. Carpenters, stone masons, bricklayers, plasterers, lathers, plumbers, electricians, structural iron workers, concrete workers, and others, all co-operate in the production of buildings, and oftentimes in the production of a single building the industrial union organizes these different trade or craft divisions of the building industry as branches of one industrial union. On the mathematical division of labor, the branches are subordinate to the industrial union—the whole, of which they are parts. Through the functioning of the industrial union, the bricklayer, for example, supports the carpenter, or the plumber, or whatever craft is directly affected by an industrial disturbance, and in turn the bricklayer is supported in his struggles by each and by all of the divisions of the building industry. Unionizing all the workers in the industry results necessarily from the functioning of the industrial union.

Thus, in a given locality all the workers of the building industry form a local industrial union of building workers. These in turn are united with the workers in all other industries of the same locality through the industrial district council, made up of delegates from all the local industrial unions. By the functioning of the industrial district council the workers of the entire locality are bound together for united action against their employers.

On the national field again, the next link in the chain of industrial solidarity is the National Industrial Union, which unites all local unions of a given industry into one national body. For example, in the textile industry all local unions of weavers—whether of silk, cotton, wool or linen weavers—form a National Industrial Union of weavers, embracing in its plan of organization all the weavers of the nation. The local unions are, of course, subordinate to the National Industrial Union. The functioning of the National Industrial Union means national unity of action on the industrial field of all workers in a given industry.

Again, on a larger scale, two or more National Industrial Unions—e. g., the National Industrial Union of Weavers and the closely allied National Industrial Union of Clothing Workers form a Department of the Textile Industries. The functioning of the department means the broader national unity of allied groups of industries.

Finally, the General Administration, functioning through the General Executive Board, the General Convention and the General Referendum, binds all the subordinate parts together, and completes the links in the chain of industrial solidarity. That is a national division of the industrial union movement. Each national division in turn forms a link in the chain of the New International, that is to unite the workers of the world for their emancipation.

This, briefly speaking, is the plan of organization as comprehended by the I. W. W. up to the present time. I have simply presented to you in skeleton form without unnecessary details. You may realize, even from my imperfect presentation, what the carrying out of the I. W. W. plan would mean to the working class. You may realize that such an organization in its development

will afford a powerful means of aggression and defense against the employing class, and in its perfected form such an organization means the overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of a new state of society—an Industrial Democracy, in which there shall be no longer employer and employee, but workers only, and in which each worker shall have a share in the ownership and a voice in the control of industry.

Meanwhile the economic organization of the working class—the I. W. W.—is in process of formation only, and on account of that fact the era of the theorists is not yet past. And among the theoretical problems that have raged most fiercely in I. W. W. councils the past three years, none has received more attention than the probable relation of the economic movement to the political movement of labor. I shall not presume to settle the question here tonight, but to give my opinion only.

Coming back to the quotation from Marx, which I modified to read, "Only the Economic Organization of the working class can set on foot the true Political Reflex of Working Class Interests," we must admit if we accept this declaration that the true political movement has not yet evolved. The economic organization has not yet set its feet on foot. But a great many of you may dispute the declaration of Marx as modified by me. I have heard it disputed from the S. L. P. platform here in New York within the past two weeks. Some of you may say that political action is possible—that unity on the industrial field includes everything. Others may insist that political unity is summed up in a so-called political party, separate and distinct from the industrial or economic organization. My position is this: The working class movement includes political action, and that political action is an inevitable consequence of the functioning of industrial unionism.

Let us see how it is today with capitalist politics: Capitalist society is organized on the basis of territorial and property relations. The more significant side of capitalist society is the side of property relations, and the industrial union organizes the workers on the basis of their industry. The fact that the Morgans, Rockefellers, Goulds and a few thousand other capitalists own the bulk of the nation's property in the form of land and tools of production, gives them control of the economic power of the nation. The capitalist class, like all ruling classes, is a decided minority of the people. Hence the necessity on the part of the capitalist class to make use of a complicated machinery of repressive government and police powers, to hold in subjection the working class, and to protect the capitalist's economic power, which resides in his ownership of the land and means of production. But the capitalist class cannot manufacture power and only actual wage workers may be the basis of power. Hence the members of the I. W. W. have the right to demand that the capitalist class find itself up against certain political forms and institutions that have come down from the past. America has passed through several varying stages of economic development, from the era of equal opportunities with its small hand tools, through middle class supremacy, to the present reign of the ultra-capitalists in trustified industry. Politics and other institutions of each period have left their impress more or less upon those of the succeeding period. "The law of tradition," to quote Marx, "weighs like an albatross upon the brain of the living." Hence the capitalist class must modify and adapt to its purposes the political, judicial and other institutions that have come down from the past. This task is extremely difficult, and becomes more difficult as the distance becomes greater between the workers and their employers. Threatened with reaction on the one hand and with revolution on the other, the ruling class realizes the tremendous importance of political action and the tremendous significance of certain political institutions to protect its economic power. A "subsidized" press, a "venal" pulpit, a "subservient" public school system, a repressive government with legislative, judicial and executive functions, an antiquated form of craft unionism controlled by leaders who hobnob with capitalists in the Civic Federation—these are parts of that complicated political machinery which the employing class has adapted to its own purposes and which it uses with great efficiency to maintain its hold upon the economic power.

But let me draw no hasty conclusions: The capitalist class does not hold the working class in subjection through political action alone. Rather does the capitalist class control the working class through the capitalist's economic organization. Whether or not we believe "the king can do no wrong," the king is not the head of those very trusts which the capitalist class desires to curb or break up. A small coterie of financiers in Wall Street pull the political wires at their command, and the middle class and working class of the nation wobble at their dictation, while the "political" jump-jack at Washington tumbles off his pedestal into the ash barrel of the "has-beens." Capitalist political action is a reflex of capitalist economic organization.

And just as the capitalist class controls and directs its political reflex through its economic organization, so must the working class, while seeking to gain economic power through industrial unionism, control and direct the working class political action through industrial unionism. But let me remind you of certain differences between the two, together with certain eliminations from working class political action that are indispensable in the political action of the capitalist class. As said before, the ruling class is a minority class. Its economic supremacy depends upon its subjugation of the majority. To that end the capitalist class has organized a complex machinery of repressive government, which the capitalist must control in his own interests. On the other hand, the working class is a majority class. It does not seek to subjugate the capitalist class, but to abolish it. Accordingly, the working class could not use the present governmental machinery if it got possession of it. For the emancipation of the working class, a properly constructed, in disciplined economic organization aiming at Industrial Democracy is indispensable.

Again, the working class has no property—"It has nothing to lose but its chains." Nevertheless, just because the working class has nothing but its labor power, just because the capitalist, through his control of the means of life, may starve or intimidate the workers into submission—on that account we find the unorganized and disorganized working class displaying a lamentable lack of revolutionary backbone. Nothing but the discipline of industrial unionism can supply that revolutionary stamina to the workers. Merely going behind a curtain and expressing a wish on a piece of paper, while trusting to politicians or "intellectuals" to carry out the wish, could result in anything but disaster if successful on a national scale. Again, the want of property among the workers—their precarious economic position—makes them a prey to the allurements of reforms, of so-called "immediate demands" in political party platforms. The I. W. W. makes clear to the workers that an immediate improvement of their condition is possible only through industrial unionism. Thus the I. W. W. saves the working class from the pitfalls of reactionary reform movements and the allurements of capitalist political issues.

Again, in the legislative, judicial and executive councils of the political state the capitalist has need of an army of lawyers, professional politicians and others to make interest and execute the capitalist laws against the working class. On the other hand, the legislative, executive and judicial functions of the working class movement are embodied in the administrative functions of the economic organization—the industrial union. The laws relating to labor's interests must be made in the shops through the industrial organizations. Such laws will refer to wage schedules, working hours, the employer's control of the working class, protection of machinery, etc. Only actual wage workers may make and administer such laws, and only actual wage workers may be members of the I. W. W. Hence the national, international and administrative functions of the I. W. W. will be free from the machinations of lawyers, politicians and scheming "intellectuals" with bourgeois instincts. The "honey-hand" of the working class itself. To that end the I. W. W. will develop the methods and the men.

In what, then, will consist the specific political action of the labor movement? I have mentioned a political institution, the industrial union, which, as we have seen, we too, must have a press; and we have already made a start in that direction. But it must be equally obvious from my previous argument that the press of the labor movement must be under the control of the economic organization. A full realization of that S. L. P. ideal of a party press—"owned by workmen, edited by workmen and supported by workmen"—will be possible only when the I. W. W. has established its own press on a scale befitting the economic movement.

I have mentioned the pulpit. We perpetuate thereof the lecture platform or the lecture bureau. The tremendous possibilities of the lecture platform for promoting the education of the working class, for recruiting industrial unionists, and even for disarming the opposition of the middle and professional classes, need not be dwelt upon by me. Here again it must be obvious that this political institution—the lecture bureau—must be under the control of the economic organization. I need not add that workmen for the most part will occupy the platform for the I. W. W.

I have mentioned the public school, which today is supported by and controlled in the interests of the capitalist. I shall not say we contemplate setting up such an institution as the one we have today. That institution—the public school—will doubtless be carried over into the Co-operative Commonwealth and be readapted to the purposes of the new state of society. Nevertheless, we do contemplate reaching and educating the child of the worker; and to this end the I. W. W. will set up and control the necessary political institution or institutions. Here, I think, some of the sig-

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(Continued on page 6)

Reply to a "Miner"

To assert that there are quite a number of ignoramuses and worse in this neck of the woods is amply proved by an article in the Western Clarion (an S. P. paper), by one of them, who pretends to masquerade under the alias of "Miner," though there is every evidence to believe that it emanated from the fertile imagination of a typical aristocrat of labor of the A. F. of L. kind. He asserts that the arguments for Industrial Unionism are strong and logical, but for the fact that the working class according to "Miner," does not possess economic power, but is economically helpless and dependent, so that in consequence the I. W. W. is built on false and erroneous premises.

He then says that the trade unions are necessarily confined to their efforts in bettering the conditions of their membership within the confines of the wage system, and then adds that trade unionism is valuable to any set of workers because it limits competition. He then proves the contention of the industrial unionist that the trade unions do not reflect the true interests of the working class, or even a part of it, since he admits they do not demand the abolition of the wage system, and then he convicts himself of ignorance or worse by declaring that the I. W. W. does not demand the abolition of the wage system. The preamble of the I. W. W. specifically demands the abolition of the wage system and all that which it implies, and rears its structure on the Socialist principle of the class struggle; and it is because these trade unions, in the words of the I. W. W. preamble, "foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars." The trade unions reduce the workers to a common footing, that have given rise to the conditions that have made them "economically helpless and dependent," greatly assisted by A. F. of L. scabbery and the mutually interests ideology. It is because of these conditions that the working class, divided against itself, here a great mass of unorganized workers, there a comparatively small body of organized skilled workers, organized in autonomous craft unions, both helpless, one for want of organization and the other from its antiquated form and tactics, which belong to the handicraft era of capitalism—it is these conditions that have produced the brightest star of the labor movement, the I. W. W., profiting by the mistakes of the past and learning from the enemy the very tactics that will eventually mean victory to the workers. It is the logical evolution of working class organization and tactics in the same way that the trust is the logical evolution of capitalist class organization and methods, the industrial unionism, the proletarian facing the capitalist class, engaged in a struggle which by virtue of the economic might and numbers of the working class, due to correct organization and tactics, will result in freeing all humanity from exploitation and oppression, and realize the ideal of the toilers, the Industrial Republic. Again, if the workers have no economic power, their political power of which those utopians who would legislate a revolution prate so eloquently would amount to a delusion and a snare, counting out, intimidation, not to speak of the underhand attempts to disfranchise the workers and the obvious chicanery and lawlessness, in which the political henchman of the capitalist class are experts; so that to protect the political rights of the workers common sense alone demands the working class economic organization, which, as Miner says, can alone set on foot the true political party of labor. The sponsors for the I. W. W. form of organization were in many instances intellectual giants, to quote "Miner," which is very true, and which is more than can be said of him or of labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, Gompers, Mitchell, et al. It is true that "there is an instinctive feeling in the ranks of the workers that they must get together," and that is why the I. W. W. is making such headway; the rank and file of the workers are beginning to realize that all their hopes and interests are crystallized in the I. W. W., the great center of the working class movement. Industrially organized, the workers will have the active co-operation of their fellow toilers in the same industry, and kindred industries, if necessary, thus making "an injury to one the concern of all," in vivid contrast to craft union scabbery that has made America from one end to the other a graveyard of lost strikes and lost wages. Just in proportion that the I. W. W. builds up and perfects its organization, in like proportion does capitalism approach to its inevitable end. When the critical hour arrives when capitalism is in the midst of one of its periodical crises, the industrially drilled and disciplined workers will fulfill the mission of their or-

ganization by taking and holding the machinery of production, and erect on the ruins of capitalism the Industrial Republic, while the political arm of labor, the reflex of the economic arm, will be the rostrum upon which the workers will proclaim their demands, and on the same field attack and eventually abolish the political citadel of the exploiting class, the modern state.

ALBERT ROBINSON.

Greenwood, B. C.

High Prices in Nevada

The two railroad companies running through this part of Nevada, the Las Vegas & Tonopah, or W. A. Clark's road, running from Las Vegas, Nev., to Tonopah, and the Bullfrog & Goldfield, running from Beatty to Goldfield, announced a reduction of wages for section men, to take effect January 20th last. These men, having been organized in the I. W. W. and the W. F. M., refused to accept any reduction in wage, and went out on strike. The companies at once adopted the usual tactics, shipping men from Los Angeles and other places, to take the jobs. Now, the pay seems big to men in other places, but if men will take into consideration the cost of living of all other necessities, they will find that the pay is not high. On the contrary, \$3 pay day is about the same as \$1.50 per day would be in California, with the fact of living on a desert, where there is no comfort, summer or winter, to be had. Everything one has to buy in this country costs from 100 to 300 per cent higher than in Salt Lake or Los Angeles. Now, we have succeeded in having all classes of foreigners who were shipped in here, as soon as we explained the situation to them, refuse to take the jobs, and go back out of the country, most of them broke, rather than scab. Now after a month, during which over 300 men, mostly foreigners, have left rather than scab, the companies are letting the strikers' places with native-born Americans. They are some of Prof. Elliot's best ones, men who for years have been taught to believe that they were the best workmen on earth. Oh, why will they never learn to stick together like the foreigners has shown them they will stick to their class interests and they can win everything they demand. If the American laborer were as loyal to his class as the foreigner there would soon be better conditions for all.

The strike is still on, and will continue till the scale adopted by the unions is restored, all the lying reports of the capitalist papers notwithstanding. Our class wishes to have it announced in The Bulletin that members of Local 262 leaving the district without a paid-up card shall be considered unfair.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
ED. F. TOWERS,
Secretary No. 262
Box 107 Beatty, Nev.

Activity in Yukon Territory

Dawson, Y. T., January 9.—The Industrial Workers of the World have held a mass meeting at their headquarters in the Union Hall for the purpose of organizing an Industrial Council of the entire district.

This is a part of a concerted plan of the union men to establish an eight-hour day and a minimum wage of twenty-five cents per hour. The spirit of industrial unionism has caught the workers here and undoubtedly it means a betterment of conditions for the workers.

The representatives of the Guggenheims has announced that the company will employ two thousand men during the coming season; in consequence of this, and realizing the necessity of closer unity among the workers, the Industrial Council is being formed so that the workers may get a "slice" of the Guggenheim prosperity.—Nome Industrial Worker.

Notice to Italian Workers

We take great pleasure in calling the attention of Italian workers to the appearance of a new Italian weekly paper, "La Propaganda," the first number of which was published Saturday, March 7. It is a thoroughly workmanlike production and reflects credit on its projectors, who deserve, and judging from the excellent start they have made, will doubtless receive a very generous support and response in a large subscription list. The paper is published by the Chicago Branch of the Italian Socialist Federation, with offices at 108 East Chicago avenue, Chicago. The yearly subscription is \$1, or 50 cents for six months. Send to the address given for sample copy and enclose a dollar for a year's subscription.

Vincent St. John and W. E. Tuller will speak on Industrial Unionism tomorrow (Sunday) afternoon, at 3 o'clock, at Bradman's Hall, 2002 111th street, west of Michigan avenue. They will answer the question, "Why Are the Factories and Mills Closed?" The admission, and all questions will be answered.

212 BUSH TEMPLE

Entered as second-class matter March 1, 1907, at the postoffice at Chicago, Ill., under the act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

REVIEW OF OUR POSITION.

LATEST TRICK FROM DENVER.

III, Sec. 2, of the By-laws" of the I. W. F. M. is nowhere empowered to decide what constitutes a "bona fide chartered labor organization" and is merely seeking to establish its own subjective criteria for the constitution of the I. W. F. M. The I. W. F. M. holds its "charter" from its own membership and for the I. W. F. M. there is no superior body to determine its legitimacy as a labor organization. It will neither be embarrassed nor intimidated by any threats of the John Mitchell order, and whether the W. F. M. lives up to the principle of "recognizing" any body of workers as such or not, the I. W. F. M. will not sell out for anything.

Approved by Portland

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
ELMER E. THALMAN,
WM. SULLIVAN,
Portland, Ore. Committee.

Mass Meeting and Concert

"The Horn"

"The Harp"

The March issue will be of special propagandist value amongst Irishmen. It will contain a brief sketch of the Socialist movement in Ireland, reprints of three of the manifestoes of the Socialist Party in Ireland, a short synopsis of the Contribution of Irishmen to the American Revolution, a poem of the Fenian movement which reads as if it were written yesterday and by a Socialist, extracts from Irish journals of today, illustrating the progress of advanced ideas in Ireland, and all the usual features. The new address is 749 3rd avenue New York

O'Neil's Political Boomerangs

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
T. J. MILLS.
Los Angeles, Cal.

COVINGTON HALL.

By OSCAR AMERINGER

He will take a pattern from a scab pattern-maker, cast it in a union mold, hand the casting to as lousy a scab as

Pickets are stationed around the plant or factory, or harbor, to stop workers from taking the places of the strikers.

Why are they not molested? Oh! they're union men, belonging to a different craft than the one on strike. In-

ferent craft than the one on strike. Instead of brickbats and insults it's "Hello, John; hello, Jim; howdy, Jack," and

'It's Against Human Nature'

It is not my purpose at this time to confute Mr. Rose's diagnosis of working class human nature. I desire, "in a spirit of love," as the sainted Chadband would say—for obviously Mr. Rose is doing his best and ought not to be discouraged by break and no feeling.

The whole thing is like beating a man's brains out and then handing him a headache tablet.

After having instructed a green bunch of amateur scabs in the art of

My dear brother, I am sorry to be under contract to hang you, but I know it will please you to hear that the scaffold is built by union carpenters, the rope bears the label and here is my

This is union scabbing.

As it happened, there were fairly strong branches of both organizations at South Leeds. How did Mr. Rose's project of uniting politically the industrially hostile railwaymen of these unions work out?

Notes from Japan

At Shaka-no-o coal mine, the same

J. J. Hicks, Mrs. Jessie Shuck, John Herr, A. G. Smith and S. J. Harker. Clarence Meily is assisted in the defense of our men and women comrades.

Come Join Our Hosts

We have inscribed upon our flag:
"Workers, rally to the call!"
That the land and all its treasures
Is the heritage of all.

We have emblazoned on our banner—

IWW Bul 13—Fisher M10 FOUR

Why should ye longer be a pauper?
Why should ye longer idly stand,
With all this wealth spread out before
you,
Produced by labor's horny hand?

Come, join our host, and on to victory
'Tis the only course to choose.
We have everything to gain,
Nothing but our chains to lose!

SAMUEL GERARD.

BRITISH ADVOCATES OF INDUS

TOTTENHAM—L. Boyne, 100 High Road, South Tottenham.
WIGAN—Peter Newall, 84 Dambridge Street.
WOOLWICH—A. R. Smyth, 66 Browary Road, Plumstead.
All secretaries of A. of L. U. clubs whose names are not on this list are requested to communicate with J. R. Clark, National Secretary, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 8

